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TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ALABAMA.

25-1011
By William Rufus King & others.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The extraordinary exertions which are making to mislead the public mind on the approaching Presidential election, and, which, we are informed, have extended to Alabama; induce us to address you on the propriety of adopting a political organization in every county throughout the State, which shall insure a union of effort in defence of our principles, as effective as that with which they are assailed. The two great parties, which have always divided the country, are again in the field struggling for mastery; *we*, under our appropriate name and principles, contending for a strict construction of the Constitution, which shall protect the rights of the many against the encroachments of a privileged few; while *our opponents*, under the hope of concealing their political identity, have assumed the new name of Whigs, but are true to their old principles: That ours is a Government not of equality, but of *privilege*; and that under the Constitution, Congress can confer on favored individuals not only the exclusive privilege of manufacturing a paper currency for the whole Union, but the right to convert the whole revenues of the Government into so much bank capital, to be used and loaned out for their individual benefit. This is the true issue which is involved in the present contest of political parties, and, to insure another signal triumph to the republican cause, it is only necessary that the question should be fairly understood. The great body of the people, who have no favors to ask but an honest and equal administration of the Government, are, and ever have been, essentially republican. If any portion of them have adhered with stricter fidelity than all the rest to these cherished principles, it has been the southern people. With them, republicanism is not merely a sentiment, consecrated by education and their earliest political recollections; it is to them a citadel of defence against the encroachments of the stronger sections of the Confederacy; a fortress for all their rights and institutions against the assaults of a tariff, a bank, or their still more formidable enemy, abolition. With what propriety, then, can the southern people, unless under a most woful misconception of the contest, be expected to throw their strength against the re-election of a Chief Magistrate, who, by his unflinching support of republican principles, has been designated by his opponents, "*A northern President with southern principles.*"

But, fellow citizens, in relying on the justice of our cause, and the strength of our principles, let us not underrate the efforts of our adversaries to mislead and deceive the people. It is not Gen. Harrison's popularity we have to meet; it is not the naked face or the naked weapons of our old Federal opponents we have to contend against; it is their still more powerful allies which are to give heat and violence to the contest. *The whole banking power of the country*, with a very few honorable exceptions, has taken up arms against the present Administration. The number of these institutions is above eight hundred, dispersed through every State and Territory in the Union. To judge of

their power and influence, it is sufficient to say ; that, at the period of the general suspension of specie payments, there was due to them from the people, the enormous sum of five hundred millions of dollars. What a weight of influence is this to throw around the consciences and opinions of men in a contest, by which the banks are struggling to regain their lost power and privileges ! Is it to be wondered at, that four-fifths of the political press, the citadel of popular rights, have surrendered at discretion to this immense power, and are doing its bidding by writing up General Harrison and writing down Mr. Van Buren ? Need we be surprised at the books, pamphlets, documents, essays, speeches, caricatures, and lives of General Harrison, with pictorial representations, which are pouring in upon a central committee of members of Congress at this place, who frank them off in the proportion of *wagon-loads* to the *bushels* sent by the Republican members ? Need we wonder at the perfect organization of this party throughout every State, and in every county in the Union ? That this central committee have found their way to almost every post office in Alabama ; and that every human means are used to cause the people to ground their arms before these potentates of the paper system, and the political party with which they are allied. Need we wonder, that when the makers of paper money have so much at stake in the coming elections, they should avail themselves of a pecuniary pressure in England, still more intense than exists in this country—a pressure which the board of trade of the great manufacturing town of Manchester have proven conclusively to be produced by the joint action of the Bank of England and British bankers—a pressure which has reduced our cotton in English markets to the lowest price ;—need we be surprised, that this moment should be seized on as a favorable one, to increase the pecuniary sufferings of the people, with a view of furnishing ground of accusation against the present Administration ? Need we be surprised that travelling emissaries of bank power should be sent abroad to preach to the people, that the hard times are produced by the Sub-Treasury policy of the Administration, before that policy has been either adopted or put in force.

In reply to this clamor of hard times, we put the question to the banks ;—why they, who have the exclusive privilege of furnishing a bank-paper currency, have not furnished the country with a sufficient and sound paper medium ? We hold them to their responsibility, and demand an answer to the question. The Sub-Treasury, which they affect to dread, has not been put in force, and the banks are, from the necessities of the case, to a great extent the depositories of the public money. The bills of all specie-paying banks are still received in payment of public dues. The legislatures of the several States have imposed no disabilities on them. On the contrary, it has been matter of exultation on the floor of Congress, and in the opposition press, that democratic legislatures have shrunk from the responsibility of enforcing any measure of restriction or forfeiture on the suspended banks. In this condition of exemption from all legislative interference on the part of the States or the Federal Government, why do not the banks relieve the present pressure ? If *able*, where is their apology for not doing it, except a determination to drive the people, by suffering, against the present Administration ? If *unable*, does it not prove the utter worthlessness of these institutions, and of bank circulation ? Why should they throw the blame on the Government, which has no control over the question, except in the collection of its own revenues, which it now does in bank paper, and which

the present Sub-Treasury bill does not propose to discontinue for years to come? If the banks, *when they have every thing in their own way*, are not able or willing to furnish a sufficiency of sound currency for the demands of the country, they might as well be abolished, and let us return to a metallic currency at once.

The first manifestation of relief under the present pressure has been, not from the banks, but from private capitalists. Money is now abundant in New York on good security, at *less than the legal rate of interest*; and we have the authority of the Whig correspondent of the National Intelligencer, that in that city, the difficulty is not in finding *lenders* at legal interest, but sound *borrowers*; so utterly has the bank system destroyed anything like sound credit.

But, fellow-citizens, whatever are the odds against us in this contest, we look with confidence to the people, as the only power which can triumphantly sustain the cause of equality, against the powerful foes by which it is assailed. It is a question for the industrious producing classes—mechanics and sturdy agriculturists of the country—how far they will degrade the pursuits of labor, by giving to the manufacture of paper money an ascendancy, which shall make labor still more tributary to the exactions of the paper system. From the beginning of time, a perpetual war has been waged by *privilege on popular rights*. The same struggle is still going on, for the purpose of giving to the cormorant appetite of the banks, a larger slice from the loaf of labor; and it is for this reason, we urge on you, to take timely means to *arm the people, in defence of the people*. Let them but know that the banks have been for three years urging a doubtful battle with the Government, for the possession and use of the public purse, and for the privilege of having a factitious credit given to their notes, by being received in exclusive payment of the public dues. Let them know that this has been avowedly the ground of dispute between political parties ever since the time when, by a general suspension, these faithless depositories reduced the Government, with a redundant Treasury, to temporary bankruptcy; let it be known that, for resisting this claim of bank privilege, Mr. Van Buren has been the doomed victim of bank vengeance; let them know that the party sustaining the insolent pretensions of these purse-proud corporations, have brought forward General Harrison as a candidate for the Presidency, with the avowed intention of restoring these privileges to the banks; let it be known who constituted the convention by which he was nominated—how little the great productive classes, who fill the ranks of the Republican party, had to do with that nomination; let them, in short, comprehend, what we believe to be the true issue, whether the banks or the people are to govern this country, and we have no fear of the verdict, which the popular voice will pronounce.

But, fellow-citizens, we cannot close this communication, without bringing to your notice, what we honestly believe to be another element of Gen. Harrison's strength, which, though not as powerful as the one already mentioned, is, perhaps, still more dangerous to the South. We will not stop to inquire what are the opinions and feelings of General Harrison on the absorbing subject of abolition. We will, for the present, suppose, as his friends urge, that he is free from the infection of this foul fanaticism; but we cannot help reflecting, that public men are more or less under the control of the party by which they are brought into power; and that it is often more important to examine the principles of that party than of the

individual they propose for office. This is more particularly just, in relation to a Presidential candidate, and the party by which he is sustained, for his success invariably brings that party into power and office. To test General Harrison by this rule, what are his claims on the South. It will be recollected that, in the convention by which he was nominated, he received not a single vote from any slave-holding State. The southern portion of the convention, after being outvoted, acquiesced in the nomination; but not until by a decisive vote they had expressed their preference for another. So irreconcilable were the opinions of that convention, they adjourned without adopting, in the form of a public address, any exposition of their principles, or the principles of their candidate; and, from that day to this, the opinions of both the convention and the nominee on this vital question, have been purposely kept from the public. More recently, a great national convention of Whig young men, purporting to represent every portion of the Union, assembled in Baltimore, and numbered, according to their own accounts, twenty thousand persons; and yet this immense assemblage of the party passed off without adopting any address, or avowing a single political principle, except their determination to place themselves in power. If there was no contrariety of feeling, why did they not publish an address; and if General Harrison owes nothing to the support of the Abolitionists, why does he not come out boldly, and denounce them and their wicked designs. In striking contrast to the policy of our opponents, in not trusting the people with an avowal of their principles—a policy new in the history of parties in this country, and based upon a feeling of mistrust toward the people—the Democratic convention which nominated Mr. Van Buren on the fifth of the present month, among other resolutions defining their principles, and to which we are proud to call the attention of the southern people;—unanimously

“Resolved, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of every thing appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.”

The Democratic State Convention in Ohio, and most of the Democratic Legislatures, have openly denounced abolition and the Abolitionists. We challenge our opponents to show *when a Whig convention, a Whig Legislature, or any other Whig association in the non slaveholding States, have uttered a sentiment of disapprobation of the Abolitionists or their incendiary schemes.* Mr. Van Buren has not failed to respond to every call which has been made on him in relation to this question, by expressing his determination to use the powers with which he is invested by the Constitution, in opposing every project of these incendiary agitators; and yet General Harrison, from considerations which none can mistake, closes his lips on the subject.

If the silence of General Harrison, taken in connexion with the circumstances under which he obtained his nomination in preference to Mr. Clay, the idol of the Whig party, did not sufficiently disclose the abolition agency by which he is presented for the Presidency, a secret circular issued from Albany, by S. Dewitt Bloodgood, a leading Abolition Whig, has been brought to light, and republished for some weeks without its authenticity

being questioned, so far as we know; which fully discloses the means by which it was effected. This secret circular, it was said, was sent to the Whig delegates in the non slaveholding States, as soon as they were nominated to the convention; and, among many reasons why General Harrison *could* be elected, and Mr. Clay *could not*, the circular says of Mr. Clay, "*the Abolitionists generally will oppose him,*" while General Harrison was represented as a candidate "*free from these objections.*"

But the following paroxysm of abolition extacy from the Emancipator, the abolition organ in New York, in the incautious moment of receiving the first news of General Harrison's nomination, is conclusive:

"THE HARRISBURG CONVENTION.—Well, the agony is over, and Henry Clay is—laid upon the shelf. And no man of ordinary intelligence can doubt or deny that it is the anti-slavery feeling of the North which has done it, in connexion with his own ostentatious and infamous pro-slavery demonstrations in Congress. Praise to God for a great anti slavery victory. A man of high talents, of great distinction, of long political services, of boundless personal popularity, has been openly rejected for the Presidency of this great Republic, on account of his devotion to slavery. Set up a monument of progress there. Let the winds tell the tale—let the slaveholders hear the news—let foreign nations hear it—let O'Connell hear it—let the slaves hear it—a slaveholder is incapacitated for the Presidency of the United States. The reign of slavery is hastening to a close. The rejection of Henry Clay by the Whig Convention, taken in connexion with all the circumstances, is one of the heaviest blows the monster slavery has received in this country."

Again, read the following exultations of the notorious Garrison:

"From Garrison's Liberator.

"NOMINATION OF GENERAL HARRISON.—The National Whig Convention, assembled at Harrisburg on the 6th instant, nominated William Henry Harrison for the office of President of the United States. On the first and second ballot, the vote stood—for Henry Clay, 103; for Harrison, 94; for Winfield Scott, 57. On the third ballot, the vote was—for Harrison, 148; for Clay, 90; for Scott, 16. *All the slave States went for Clay.* We regard this as another important sign of the times—as a signal defeat of the slaveholding power in this country. Had it not been for Abolitionism, Henry Clay would undoubtedly have been nominated. *We have faith to believe that no slaveholder will ever again be permitted to fill the Presidential office in this Republic.*"

The Le Roy Gazette, once edited by Mr. Gates, a Whig Abolition Member of Congress from New York, says:

"Very much like, indeed! The editor of the Ohio paper abandoned the Whigs *because they nominated the Abolitionists, and joined the Loco Focos because they went for the dough-faces; while we left the Jackson party because it adhered to slavery, and united with the Whigs because they supported abolition!*"

The following extract of a letter from the same Mr. Gates shows further the hopes of the Abolitionists from General Harrison's election:

"You will have seen by the last Philanthropist, that General Harrison is actually a member of an Abolitionist society; and, in 1832, claimed not to be in favor of slavery at all, and excused himself for his vote on the Missouri and Arkansas questions, on the ground of constitutional objections, which, consistently with his oath to support the Constitution, he thought he could not disregard. He also claims that he was the first member of Congress to propose the prohibition of slavery forever in the Territory above Missouri. He says, while he has been the means of liberating many slaves, he has never placed one in bondage.

"Whether these explanations, taken in connexion with the fact that his Vincennes speech was delivered at a time when the principles of modern abolition were imperfectly understood in Ohio, will render him so far acceptable to Abolitionists in your section, as to induce them to vote for him in preference to Van Buren, who has thrown himself so fully into the embraces of the South, to secure the slaveholding influence, I am of course unable to predict."

In a letter from a Mr. Hance, a Whig Abolitionist, published in the "Philanthropist" of March 17, the writer says:

"Have the Abolitionists not already reason to congratulate themselves on the concessions made to their influence in the nomination of General Harrison? Most assuredly they have. Who is there

that can believe that General Harrison would have been the Whig candidate, had it not been for Clay's anti-abolition speech in the United States Senate last spring? IS NOT THE HARRISBURG NOMINATION A GREAT ABOLITION VICTORY, ACQUIRED WITHOUT A SINGLE DIRECT EFFORT OF OURS? And what does this promise us in future, if we only remain true to our first principles?"

If the length of this address would permit, we could multiply proofs of this identity of the abolitionists with the Whig party of the North, to an extent which would astound the southern people, and perhaps none more than those who, by clamor and the activity of our opponents, have without due reflection declared for General Harrison, and who we know to be as decidedly opposed to the Abolitionists as we are ourselves. Most of these we are certain have avowed their preference for General Harrison with but a limited knowledge of his character or his principles, and with no other feeling than that of opposition to Mr. Van Buren, thus furnishing another instance of the reckless extent to which embittered party feeling sometimes carries the most patriotic and worthy. We are greatly deceived if the dissemination of information as to the views of the Abolitionists, and the purposes they expect to secure by the election of General Harrison, does not cause thousands in the South to pause, and, ultimately, to retrace the steps into which they have been inconsiderately hurried.

To that portion of General Harrison's supporters, who live by banks, and the profits of making paper money, and who have joined in the warfare against Mr. Van Buren, for no other purpose than to maintain the paper system, we have little doubt that even abolition itself, has fewer horrors, than the prostration of bank power and the loss of bank privileges.

In short, we believe the election of General Harrison would be the triumph of northern Federalism, bankism, and abolitionism; that it would bring into power a political party whose ascendancy would be fatal to the rights and institutions of the South; that it would be followed by a strong Federal Government, a high tariff, a mammoth Federal bank, a system of internal improvements by the Federal Government, and by all the concomitants of Federal usurpation, which are subversive of the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people.

WM. R. KING,
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